

## AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

### Guinea Monthly Briefing October 2018

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#### Guinea Summary 22 October 2018

*The crisis at the Cour Constitutionnelle (constitutional court) continues. Mohamed Lamine Bangoura replaces Kelefa Sall as the constitutional court president. The government suspends the appointment of local executive councils. The opposition holds two days of general boycott protesting that the government has not followed the 8 August political agreement. The World Bank's director of operations for Guinea, Soukeyna Kane, announces a World Bank pledge of \$1.5 billion in aid over the next five years to improve Guinea's economy.*

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#### Constitutional court crisis continues

The crisis at Guinea's **Cour Constitutionnelle** (constitutional court) took a new turn with the election on 28 September of **Mohamed Lamine Bangoura** as the court's new president.<sup>1</sup> Bangoura was previously the vice president of the constitutional court and was the sole candidate for the post of constitutional court president.<sup>2</sup> The move follows the attempt on 12 September of eight constitutional court magistrates to vote out the previous president, **Kelefa Sall**, accusing him of non-transparent management and financial misconduct.<sup>3</sup> However, the opposition claims that Sall's removal is a strategy to remove obstacles to a potential third presidential term for President **Alpha Condé** (2010-present). **Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée (UFDG)** president **Cellou Dalein Diallo** described the move to depose Sall as a "blackmail campaign" (see *ARC Briefing Guinea September 2018*).<sup>4</sup> Diallo said Sall is against the possibility of Condé running for a third presidential term, and claims that Condé saw him as an obstacle towards enabling such a scenario.<sup>5</sup>

Guinean civil society organisations and opposition parties unanimously protested against Sall's removal.<sup>6</sup> Civil society organisation **Balai Citoyen** (citizen's broom) hosted a march at the constitutional court on 19 September calling for the move to be reversed.<sup>7</sup> **Conseil National des Organisations de la Société Civile Guinéenne (CNOSCG)** (national council of Guinean civil society organisations) president **Abdoulaye Diallo** called the attempt to remove Sall "an affront to democracy [that] deprives Guinea of an individual who is at the service of the people".<sup>8</sup>

Following his replacement by Bangoura, Sall refused to acknowledge his dismissal, claiming he is the legitimate president of the institution.<sup>9</sup> Sall hosted a press conference on 3 October reiterating that he is still in charge and refuting allegations of financial mismanagement on his part.<sup>10</sup> However, a presidential decree on 3 October confirmed Sall's removal from his position of responsibility.<sup>11</sup> Diallo called the presidential decree "an illegal act", noting only the **Cour Supreme** (supreme court) and **Haute Cour de Justice** (higher court of justice) are permitted to remove the constitutional court

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<sup>1</sup> Aminata.com, 28 Sep 2018

<sup>2</sup> Aminata.com, 28 Sep 2018

<sup>3</sup> Aminata.com, 12 Sep 2018

<sup>4</sup> Aminata.com, 12 Sep 2018

<sup>5</sup> Aminata.com, 12 Sep 2018

<sup>6</sup> RFI, 20 Sep 2018

<sup>7</sup> RFI, 20 Sep 2018

<sup>8</sup> Aminata.com, 19 Sep 2018

<sup>9</sup> Aminata.com, 28 Sep 2018

<sup>10</sup> Aminata.com, 3 Oct 2018

<sup>11</sup> Jeune Afrique, 4 Oct 2018

president.<sup>12</sup> Diallo claims the crisis at the constitutional court will compromise the electoral process, as it is the institution that declares electoral results.<sup>13</sup> Guinea is expected to hold legislative elections later this year, though an exact date is yet to be determined. Diallo has called for more protests against the moves at the constitutional court.<sup>14</sup>

The constitutional court has reportedly been beset by tension since 2015. This stems from the 14 December 2015 inauguration of President Condé, in which Sall advised Condé not to consider undertaking a third presidential term.<sup>15</sup> President Condé has reportedly not been on good terms with Sall since then. Observers, particularly from the opposition, believe Sall's removal is intended to ensure that President Condé will be able to pursue a third presidential term. In April Condé expressed his ambition for a third term, although Guinea's constitution has set a two-term presidential mandate limit (see *ARC Briefing Guinea May 2018*).<sup>16</sup> In an interview with *The Economist* published on 28 April, Condé said,

*"African presidents should not have term limits, because these get in the way of them carrying out ambitious long-term projects."*<sup>17</sup>

Whether or not this was the strategy behind Sall's removal, the event has created another socio-political crisis and threatens Guinea's political stability. If the opposition feels the credibility of the constitutional court has been compromised, it may refuse to participate in the legislative elections, further undermining the perception of democratic rule in Guinea.

### Government delays local executive council installation

The government announced on 9 October that it would postpone the installation of local executive councils until further notice.<sup>18</sup> The decision to delay the appointment of local government prevents local councils from administering local affairs and undertaking projects at the municipal level. Territorial administration minister General **Bourema Condé** had announced on 24 September that local executive councils would be appointed from 5 October.<sup>19</sup> This decision came eight months after highly disputed local elections took place on 4 February (see *ARC Briefing Guinea February 2018*).<sup>20</sup> The opposition claimed they had emerged victorious in 12 councils that the **Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendant (CENI)** (independent national electoral commission) had declared the ruling **Rassemblement du Peuple Guinéen Arc-en-ciel (RPG Arc-en-ciel)** won.<sup>21</sup> The RPG Arc-en-ciel and opposition UFDG established a political agreement on 8 August to end their disagreement over control of the disputed councils.<sup>22</sup> In terms of the agreement, the UFDG would take control of the executive council of **Kindia** whilst the RPG Arc-en-ciel would control **Dubreka** (see *ARC Guinea August 2018 Briefing*).<sup>23</sup>

Violent clashes between UFDG and RPG Arc-en-ciel supporters in Kindia on 6 October necessitated the intervention of law enforcement officers.<sup>24</sup> The UFDG mayoral candidate for Kindia, **Abdoulaye Bah**, blamed the altercation on the state-appointed supervisor's failure to apply the terms of the 8 August political agreement.<sup>25</sup> Bah said the UFDG won 22 out of 41 council seats and thus, the RPG Arc-

<sup>12</sup> Aminata.com, 4 Oct 2018

<sup>13</sup> Aminata.com, 4 Oct 2018

<sup>14</sup> Aminata.com, 4 Oct 2018

<sup>15</sup> Jeune Afrique, 4 Oct 2018

<sup>16</sup> The Economist, 26 Apr 2018

<sup>17</sup> The Economist, 28 Apr 2018

<sup>18</sup> Aminata.com, 9 Oct 2018

<sup>19</sup> Aminata.com, 24 Sep 2018

<sup>20</sup> Aminata.com, 24 Sep 2018

<sup>21</sup> Jeune Afrique, 9 Aug 2018

<sup>22</sup> Jeune Afrique, 9 Aug 2018

<sup>23</sup> Jeune Afrique, 9 Aug 2018

<sup>24</sup> Aminata.com, 7 Oct 2018

<sup>25</sup> Aminata.com, 7 Oct 2018

en-ciel should vote in favour of the UFDG.<sup>26</sup> However, the RPG Arc-en-ciel voted instead for **Mamadouba Bangoura** of the **Union Démocratique de Guinée (UDG)**.<sup>27</sup> RPG Arc-en-ciel communication secretary **Souleymane Keita** acknowledged his party was supposed to vote for an opposition party but said it was not obliged to vote for the UFDG.<sup>28</sup> UFDG president Cellou Dalein Diallo, accused the presidential majority and the RPG Arc-en-ciel of violating article 136 of the **Code des Collectivités** (local councils' code) which stipulates that voting of the local executive councils must be according to secret ballot.<sup>29</sup> Diallo claims this was not the case and thus council installation could not go ahead.<sup>30</sup> As a result of the various disputes, the government postponed the installation exercise.<sup>31</sup>

The CNOSCG and the opposition expressed concern over the government's postponement of local council installation.<sup>32</sup> The opposition accuses President Condé, the presidential majority and the RPG Arc-en-ciel of corrupting and discrediting the installation process.<sup>33</sup> The CNOSCG said the directive negatively affects local governance and called for the government to formulate solutions in order to resolve the crisis.<sup>34</sup> The CNOSCG promised to send 342 observers to Guinea's 342 local councils to assist in supervising the installation exercise.<sup>35</sup> Despite the CNOSCG's attempted mediation, Cellou Dalein Diallo said the opposition would carry out a series of protests, including two days of general boycott on 15 and 16 October, to express its concern at the government's failure to apply the terms of the 8 August political agreement and security forces' violence against opposition supporters.<sup>36</sup> Diallo accused the government of not having the political will to rectify the agreement.<sup>37</sup> The two days of general boycott saw the arrest of six individuals and the death of a presumed opposition supporter in Conakry.<sup>38</sup> Acts of violence reportedly also took place in Kindia.<sup>39</sup> The opposition announced that a peaceful march would take place on 23 October in memory of the slain protester.<sup>40</sup>

The government's failure to adhere to the terms of the 8 August political agreement has once again demonstrated the tense relationship between the Guinean opposition and the presidential majority. The opposition has consistently accused the presidential majority and the government of bad faith with respect to electoral matters. If the government further delays the installation of local executive councils, street protests are likely to persist with continued violence.

### World Bank earmarks \$1.5 billion in aid to Guinea from 2018-2023

The World Bank director of operations for Guinea, **Soukeyna Kane**, announced on 19 September that the World Bank will allocate \$1.5 billion to Guinea from 2018-2023.<sup>41</sup> The \$1.5 billion aid package is part of the new partnership framework that the World Bank board approved in June.<sup>42</sup> The World Bank's contribution to Guinea for the new partnership framework was substantially higher than the

<sup>26</sup> Jeune Afrique, 16 Oct 2018

<sup>27</sup> Jeune Afrique, 16 Oct 2018

<sup>28</sup> Jeune Afrique, 16 Oct 2018

<sup>29</sup> Aminata.com, 6 Oct 2018

<sup>30</sup> Aminata.com, 6 Oct 2018

<sup>31</sup> Aminata.com, 9 Oct 2018

<sup>32</sup> Aminata.com, 9 Oct 2018

<sup>33</sup> RFI, 14 Oct 2018

<sup>34</sup> Aminata.com, 9 Oct 2018

<sup>35</sup> Aminata.com, 9 Oct 2018

<sup>36</sup> Aminata.com, 10 Oct 2018

<sup>37</sup> RFI, 14 Oct 2018

<sup>38</sup> RFI, 17 Oct 2018

<sup>39</sup> RFI, 17 Oct 2018

<sup>40</sup> Aminata.com, 17 Oct 2018

<sup>41</sup> Guineenews.org, 19 Sep 2018

<sup>42</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

\$485m it provided during the previous five-year period,<sup>43</sup> indicating the bank's confidence in the potential of Guinea's economy.

The new partnership framework is in line with Guinea's **Plan National de Développement Economique et Social (PNDES)** (national plan for social and economic development) which runs from 2016-2020.<sup>44</sup> According to the World Bank's Guinea representative, **Rachidi Radji**, the partnership framework is premised on three pillars.<sup>45</sup> These include budget management, human capital development and economic diversification.<sup>46</sup> With respect to human capital development, Kane stipulates the World Bank will pay significant attention towards improving access to basic services.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the government and World Bank will take greater steps to ensure social protection mechanisms are in place.<sup>48</sup> In relation to economic diversification, Kane cited promoting agro-transformation as well as supporting the private sector and improving the business climate as areas towards which the financial assistance will go.<sup>49</sup> Facilitating private sector access to financial credits will be a priority, as this will enable the local business community to get more involved in Guinea's development.<sup>50</sup> The **International Finance Corporation (IFC)** will also provide assistance in this regard.<sup>51</sup> Planning and development minister **Kanny Diallo** pledged the government will "*do its utmost to fulfil the [World Bank's] objectives*".<sup>52</sup>

The World Bank is particularly interested in developing Guinea's agricultural sector. Radji noted that 80% of Guinea's residents live in rural areas where agriculture is the main activity.<sup>53</sup> Radji said that promotion of agriculture will improve the resilience of the communities involved in it.<sup>54</sup> Guinea experienced gross domestic product economic growth of 10.5% in 2016 and 8.3% in 2017; if Guinea is to attain the government's target of 10% growth per year, agriculture will need to be prioritised.<sup>55</sup> The agricultural sector would therefore be a good target for potential investors.

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<sup>43</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>44</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>45</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>46</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>47</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>48</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>49</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>50</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>51</sup> Guineematin.com, 17 Sep 2018

<sup>52</sup> Africaguinee.com, 19 Sep 2018

<sup>53</sup> Jeune Afrique, 3 Oct 2018

<sup>54</sup> Jeune Afrique, 3 Oct 2018

<sup>55</sup> Jeune Afrique, 3 Oct 2018

**Planner**

2018 **(Guinea)** Government to hold legislative elections (date to be determined)

**Chronology**

20 Oct 2018 **Conakry (Guinea)** *RFI*. Guinean government will cover 77% of legal costs related to court proceedings for the 29 September 2009 Conakry stadium massacre;

11 Oct 2018 **Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire)** *African Development Bank*. **African Development Bank** provides a \$57m loan for the construction of the **Boke (Guinea)-Quebo (Guinea-Bissau)** highway;

7 Oct 2018 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Aminata.com*. Government suspends installation of local executive councils;

4 Oct 2018 **New York (United States)** *RFI*. **Human Rights Watch** releases report accusing Guinean government of failing to respect social and environmental obligations in the mining sector;

3 October **Conakry (Guinea)** *Aminata.com*. Guinea celebrates 60 years of independence;

29 Sep 2018 **Conakry (Guinea)** *RFI*. **Mohamed Lamine Bangoura** elected as president of the **Cour Constitutionnelle** (constitutional court);

19 Sep 2018 **Conakry (Guinea)** *Guinnenews.org*. The World Bank will provide \$1.5 billion in aid to Guinea from 2018-2023 in line with its new partnership framework with Guinea;